DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 147 890 CS 501 913

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TITLE Inter-Ethnic and Intra-Ethnic Communication: A Study of Korean Immigrants in Chicago.
PUB DATE Nov 77
NOTE 40p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Western Speech Communication Association (Phoenix, Arizona, November 20-23, 1977)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$2.06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Acculturation; Adults; Behavior Patterns; Communication (Thought Transfer); *Ethnic Relations; Interaction; *Interpersonal Relationship; *Korean Americans; Questionnaires; *Social Integration; *Social Relations; Sociocultural Patterns; *Speech Communication
IDENTIFIERS Communication Research

ABSTRACT

This study provides evidence of trends in Korean immigrants' communication patterns. Data were collected in a survey of 400 randomly selected Korean households in the Chicago area and were analyzed for interethnic communication (between immigrants and members of the host society), intraethnic communication (between immigrants and other members of their ethnic community), numbers and types of acquaintances, and the immigrant's individual characteristics. Six major findings are discussed: immigrants maintain a stronger involvement within the ethnic community than in the host society. Participation in the host society increases with time. The number of casual friends (both non-Korean and Korean) that an immigrant has increases during the first nine years, after which association with ethnic friends decreases. Immigrants exhibiting greater interethnic communication are also active in their own ethnic community. Older immigrants do not participate in interethnic communication as much as do younger immigrants. Satisfaction with living in the host society is more closely related to interethnic communication than to intraethnic communication. A sample questionnaire is appended. (RL)

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INTER-ETHNIC AND INTRA-ETHNIC COMMUNICATION:

A STUDY OF KOREAN IMMIGRANTS IN CHICAGO

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CS501 913

Paper to be delivered to the 1977 annual meeting of the Western Speech-Communication Association, Phoenix, Arizona, November 20-23.

ABSTRACT

This study explores the developmental trends in an immigrant's communication patterns in the host society and factors that are related to the communication patterns. The trends in communication patterns are examined by comparing inter-ethnic communication with members of the host society and intra-ethnic communication with members of an immigrant's own ethnic community, in terms of the number of acquaintances, casual friends, intimate friends, and organizational memberships. Individual characteristics such as English competency, acculturation motivation, interpersonal interaction potential, and a few demographic variables are analyzed in relation to the communication patterns.

PROBLEM

Since the 1950's when interpersonal communication was first introduced into acculturation theories by American anthropologists, research has examined interpersonal communication with members of the host society.[1] Spindler and Goldschmidt (1952), for example, included "group orientations and interactions" as part of the criteria for determining the degree of acculturation among Menomini Indians. Kim(1977) has reported that the degree of an immigrant's participation in the host communication channels significantly influences the level of refinement in perceiving the host society. Many other studies of foreign students, visitors, and immigrants, have also provided empirical support for the positive relationship between the number of American friends and positive attitudes toward the host society or perceptual change (Coelho, 1958; Morris, 1960; Selltiz, Christ, Havel & Cook, 1963; Weinstock, 1964; Nagata, 1969).[2]

On the other hand, the role of intra-ethnic communication, i.e., communication of immigrants in their own ethnic community, is not clear. There are a few past studies which tend to view intra-ethnic communication as promoting ethnic identity rather than playing an integrating role in the host society. Shibutani and Kwan, for instance, indicated an adverse effect of intra-ethnic communication on acculturation. They stated that " to

the extent that .... a minority group participated in different sets of communication channels, they develop different perspectives and have difficulty in understanding each other" (1965, p.982). Lazerwitz (1954) found a high correlation beteeen the high "Jewish identification" group and the number of the group's, close friends among Jews. He also reported that those Jews in the highly ethnic identified group were much more active in Jewish organizations than those in the unidentified group. In a qualitative analysis of a Japanese-American community, Broom and Kitsuse (1955) argued that:

> A large part of the acculturation experience of the members of an ethnic group may be circumscribed by the ethnic community. Such experience .... may have the long-run effect of retarding the validation of acculturation and the eventual assimilation of many members of the group (p.44).

Such a view of intra-ethnic communication seems to be an overly simplified one since it is based on an assumption that an immigrant's involvement in the ethnic community is in direct conflict with the involvement in the host society. This assumption, however, has not been validated empirically; few studies have examined the relationship between intra-ethnic communication and inter-ethnic communication by comparing the same immigrants' involvement with both groups. Father, in previous studies, communication was examined only in terms of the overall volume of interpersonal relationships without

discriminating different levels of intimacy. An immigrant's involvement with members of the host society may be affected by the intra-ethnic involvement (or vice versa) on one level of interpersonal relationship, but not on another level. For instance, the number of a Korean immigrant's intimate friends among Koreans may be reduced as more Americans become closed friends. On the other hand, the person may be equally active in his or her involvement with both Koreans and Americans on more casual levels of friendship.

Another factor that needs to be considered in studying intra-ethnic communication patterns of foreign immigrants is the change in American society in recent years toward a greater emphasis on preserving the ethnicity of minorities. The earlier "melting-pot" theory has been challenged by such later views as "ethnicity for all," "stabilized acculturation," or "structural pluralism" (See Marden & Meyer, 1968). Although slightly different from each other in emphasis, these new views share a common preference for allowing an ethnic group to remain as:

> ...a large subsociety, crisscrossed by social class, and continuing in its own primary groups of families, cliques and association--its own network of organizations and institutions--in other words as a highly structured community within the boundaries of which an individual may, if he wishes, carry out most of his more meaningful life activities from the cradle to the grave (Gordon, 1964, pp.235-6).

This trend toward greater cultural and social independence of minorities is clearly reflected in current development of bi-lingual and bi-cultural educational programs in schools.

How this recent social trend has affected the ethnic individual's intercultural communication with members of the host society is unknown as yet. Thus, the present study explores (1) the "natural" process of change in immigrants' participation in interpersonal communication with members of the host society in relation to their communication with members of their own ethnic community, and (2) some important factors that are related to the communication patterns positively or negatively.[3] Interpersonal communication is viewed here as a major channel through which immigrants learn about the ways to cope with their new social and cultural environment. It will be examined on three levels of intimacy -- (1) overall volume of interpersonal relationships, (2) volume of casual friends with whom one can visit each other's home, and (3) volume of close friends with whom one can discuss personal and private matters -- and (4) organizational activities. It Is believed that few will dispute the importance of communication between and among members of different ethnic groups and the majority of the host society in maintaining the basic order and unity within the host society.

METHOD & PROCEDURE

The inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic communication patterns of foreign immigrants and the key factors that are related to individual differences in the communication patterns were explored by analyzing data from a survey conducted among the Korean population in the Chicago area during July-September 1975. 400 Korean households were randomly selected from three available sources -- the Korean Directory of Chicago (1974), lists of Korean church members in the area, and the Chicago and Vicinity Telephone Directory. The accepted practice of systematic radom sampling was employed (Blalock 1972, pp.514-8). Any overlapping of the sample was carefully eliminated before the survey.

Due to the widely difused residential areas of the Korean population, the survey was conducted through mail- questionnaires. Respondents with a telephone were called by the investigator and were futher encouraged to cooperate. For those who were married, either husband or wife was asked to respond without consulting with his or her spouse. Out of the 400 households, 285 completed questionnaires were returned, a response rate of 70%. Out of the 115 non-responses, 52 were due to change of address.

After the questionnaires were returned, students and travelers who were staying in the United States only a short period of time were excluded in order to limit the present study to those Koreans who had at least temporarily decided to immigrate to the United States. The total number of questionnaires that were actually

used in the data analysis was 281.

When the distribution of the number of years the respondents had lived in the United States was analyzed, the average length of stay of the sample was 4.2 years and the population size has been increasing considerably during the last seven or eight years. The maximum length of stay was 26 years and the minimum, less than 1 year. This pattern closely approximates the increasing number of Koreans who entered the United States each year since 1950, especially since 1967, as reported by the United States Office of Immigration and Naturalization Service.

The immigrant's intra-ethnic communication involvement was assessed by looking at the volume of interpersonal relationship within the Korean community. The immigrant's inter-ethnic communication involvement was assessed by the volume of interpersonal relationship with White Americans, Black Americans, and other ethnic individuals excluding the above three groups. Upon analyzing the data, nowever, it was found the most of the immigrants' inter-ethnic communication was with White Americans. Their interaction with Black Americans and other ethnic individuals was negligible. Therefore, in the subsequent analysis of data, only the interpersonal communication with White Americans was considered for the immigrant's inter-ethnic communication involvement.

The interpersonal relationships with Koreans and White Americans were further categorized to three levels of intimacy-- casual acquaintances, friends with whom one meets in one another's home, and close friends or confidants with whom one can discuss

private and personal problems. Questionaire items were worded in such a way that an immigrant's total number of acquaintances includes the number of casual friends, which in turn includes the number of close friends. The underlying assumption was that the number of interpersonal relationships on the three levels of intimacy indicates both the quality and the quantity of the immigrant's communication experiences (See Lazarsfeld & Merton, 1964, for a theoretical rational for this assumption). In addition, degree of participation as a regular member in American and Korean organizations was measured in order to assess the immigrant's participation in formal communication with their ethnic community as well as in the host society (Item 1-5 in the Appendix).

Variables that were examined in this study in order to identify some factors related to immigrants' interpersonal communication activities included: English competency, acculturation motivation, interaction potential, education, length of time in the United States, family income, age at the time of immigration, and present age. Among these background variables, English competency, acculturation motivation, and interaction potential were measured through composite-item scales. To assess English competency, respondents were asked to estimate their own speaking and understanding of English (Item 6-9 in the Appendix). The immigrant's subjective evaluation of and confidence in his or her own English competency was considered as influential in communication behaviors as the actual command of the language (See Selltiz et al, 1963, p. 124, for a supportive argument). The average correlation coefficient (r) among the four

items was .69, and the Cronbach's Alpha, .90.

Acculturation motivation of the immigrants was measured by the three questions concerning their level of interest in learning the culture of the American society, in making friends with Americans, and in learning the current issues in the United States (Items 10-12 in the Appendix). For the three items, the average inter-item correlation coefficient (r) was .38 and Cronbach's Alpha, 152. The relatively low correlations among the items perhaps is due to the difficulty of tapping the complex psychological variable through the three simple self-report questions.[5] Nonetheless, the three items were considered to provide a reasonable basis from which the immigrant's acculturation motivation, or at least, the extent to which acculturation was considered socially desirable could be estimated.

The term interaction potential means the degree of opportunity for association with members of the host society provided by the immigrant's everyday environment. In this study, the percentage of Americans out of total daily contacts of the immigrant was estimated through two items: "Of all the daily conversations you have, what percentage is with Americans?" and "In your present occupation, what percentage of the people you ordinarily come in contact with is with Americans?" (Items 13 and 14 in the Appendix). The two items correlated with each other by $r=.49$, $<.001$.

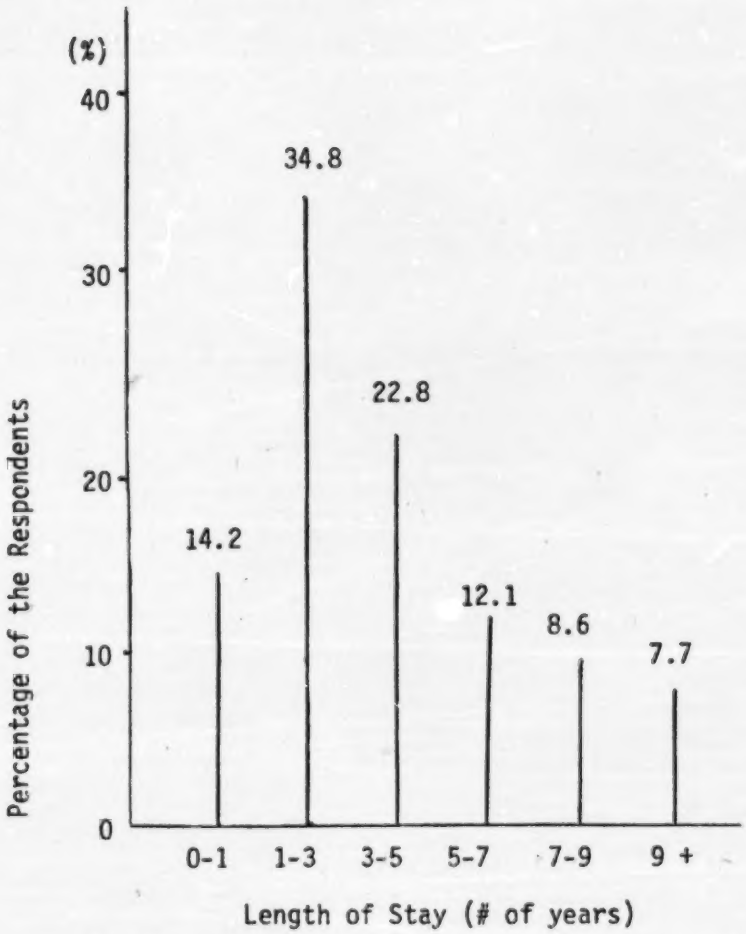
RESULTS

The survey data were analyzed in terms of (1) developmental patterns of the immigrant's intra-ethnic communication and inter-ethnic communication and (2) variables in the immigrant's background characteristics that are related to individual differences in communication patterns. The first analysis was based on cross-sectional comparisons among six subgroups divided by the length of stay in the United States (See Figure 1). In the second analysis, such individual characteristics as education, sex, age at the time of immigration, English competence, acculturation motivation, marital status and length of stay in the United States, were analyzed in relation to the inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic communication involvements.

Insert Figure 1 about here.

Trend Analysis

Ideally, the trends in the immigrant's communication patterns should be observed through time-series data that are collected repeatedly over the years. In the present study, however, the trends were traced only through the cross-sectional comparisons as a reasonable approach to examine the general developmental patterns of the immigrant's communication involvements.



$\bar{X}$ = 4.2, S.D. = 4.0, Minimum = 0.1,
Maximum = 26.0, N = 281

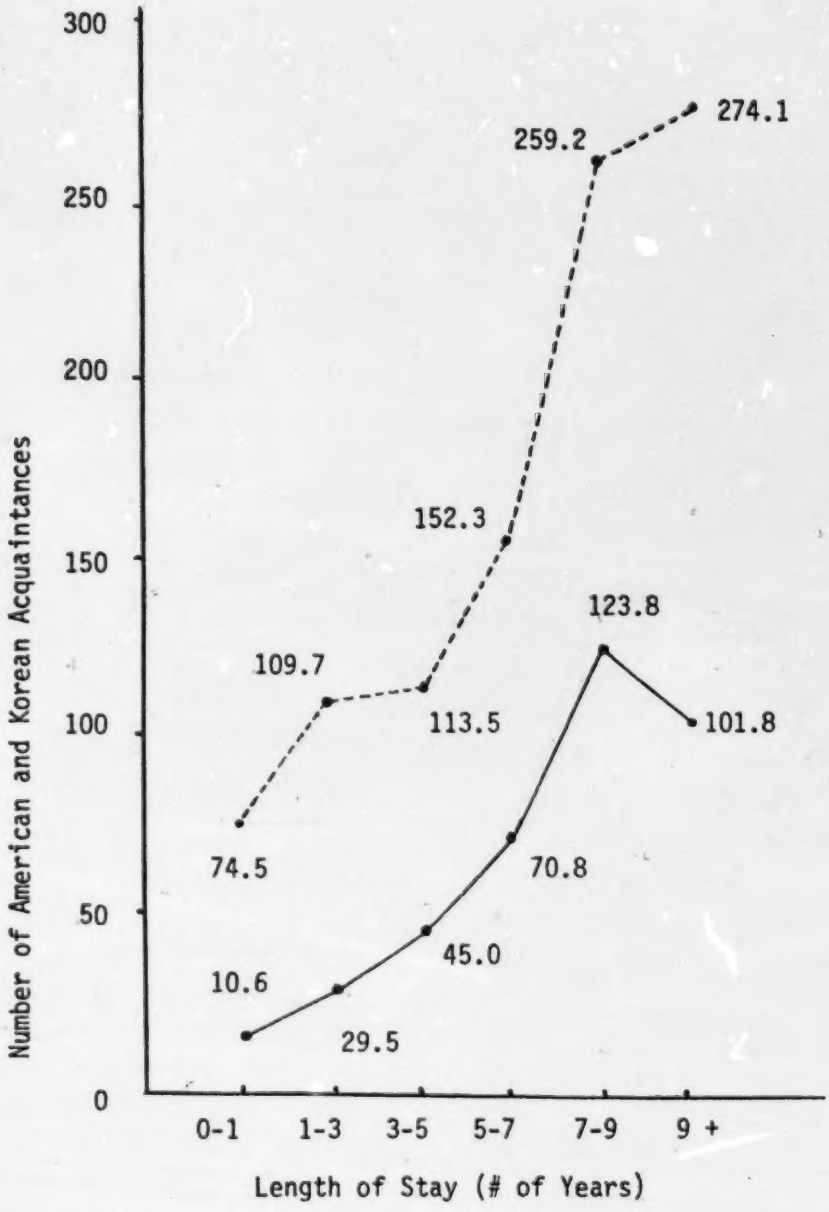
Figure (1): Percentage of Immigrants Grouped by Length of Stay

Results of the trend analysis are reported in the following section in terms of (1) general shape of developmental curves, (2) significance of change over time determined by analysis of variance across the six subgroups, and (3) significance of linearity in the curves, i.e., whether the change over the years is linear or non-linear.

Casual Acquaintances: The volume of casual American acquaintances (whom one knows well enough to speak to when they meet) steadily increased during the first nine years and tends to reach a more or less stabilized stage (See Figure 2). The average number of American casual acquaintances was 48.9 across all six subgroups. The number was only 10.6 within the first year, and increased up to 123.8 by the time the immigrants had lived in the host society for seven to nine years. After nine years, the volume of an immigrant's American casual acquaintances tended to decrease slightly. Throughout the acculturation process, the average number of ethnic acquaintances was considerably greater than that of American, indicating that the first-generation of Korean immigrants generally associate more with other Koreans than with Americans.

Insert Figure 2 about here.

Casual Friends: The trends in the volume of American casual friends (with whom one can exchange invitation to each other's home) showed a somewhat different pattern from those of casual acquaintances.



—— Americans
Overall $\bar{X}$ = 48.9
Analysis of Variance
F = 7.20
p = .001
Test of Linearity
r = .33
F = .82, p = .514

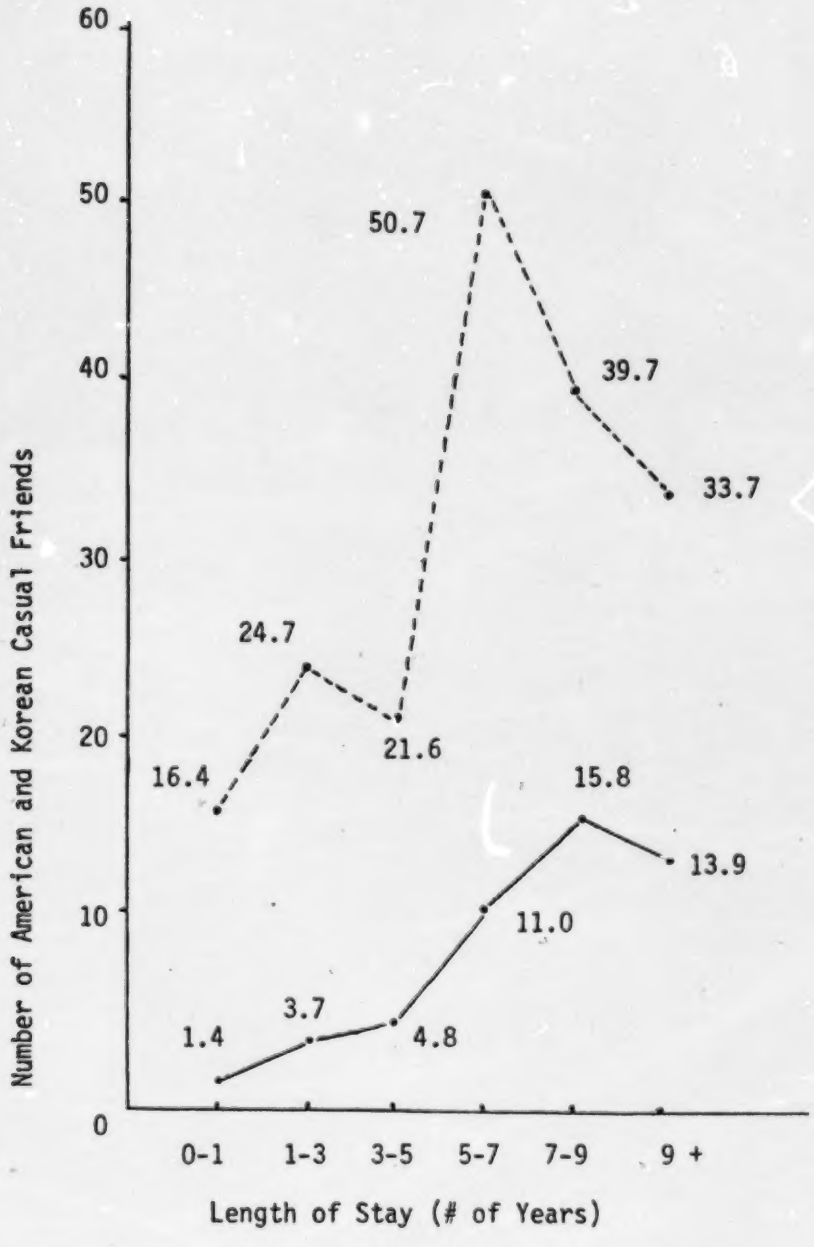
---- Koreans
Overall $\bar{X}$ = 138.1
Analysis of Variance
F = 5.31
p = .001
Test of Linearity
r = .28
F = .86, p = .491

Figure (2): Trends in Volume of American and Korean Acquaintances

In the case of casual acquaintances, both the number of American and Korean acquaintances increased side by side during the first nine years in the host society. On the other hand, the number of an immigrant's casual friends within the ethnic community increased only up to the first five years, after which it decreased. Instead, the number of American friends continued to increase throughout the years, although after nine years, the trend seemed to stabilize. The composition of an immigrant's friendship circle, therefore, was gradually supplanted by that of Americans. The ratio between the Korean and American friends during the first three years was 11.9 : 1. The ratio decreased to 2.4 : 1 after nine years (See Figure 3).

Insert Figure 3 about here.

Intimate Friends: Such a pattern of change in the immigrant's friendship circle (from ethnic homogeniety to a mixture of Korean and American friends) becomes even more salient when one examines the trends in intimate friendship only (See Figure 4). During the first year, the average immigrant had 4.6 ethnic intimate friends and only .3 American intimate friends. These numbers steadily increased up to seven to nine years; after the nine years, however, the number of intimate friends continues to grow. At this point, the average immigrant had an almost equal number of ethnic and American friends within the intimate friendship circle.



—— Americans

Overall $\bar{X}$ = 5.9
Analysis of Variance
F = 10.37, p = .001
Test of Linearity
r = .38, F=1.28, p=.279

---- Koreans

Overall $\bar{X}$ = 28.6
Analysis of Variance
F = 2.83, p=.016
Test of Linearity
r = .16, F=1.77, p=.136

Figure (3): Trends in Volume of American and Korean Casual Friends

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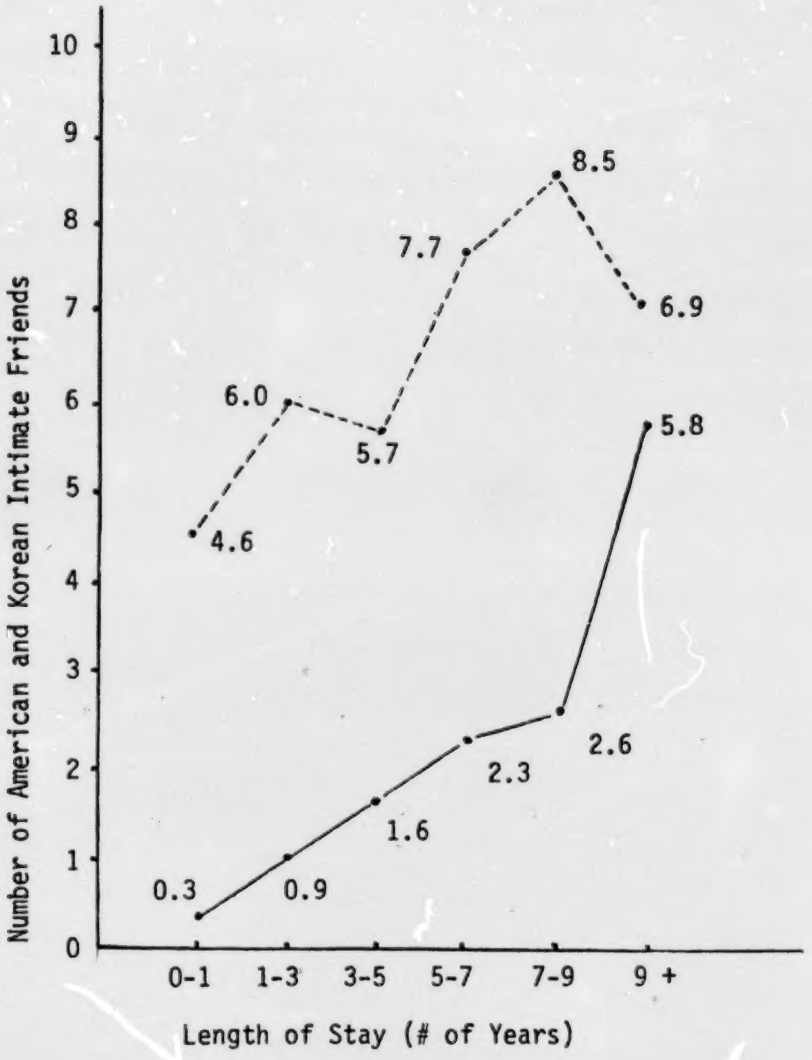
Insert Figure 4 about here.

Organizational Membership: Overall, the Korean immigrants participate more actively in Korean organizations than in American organizations. 65% of the respondents belonged to one or two Korean organizations and 20% to more than three. Only 15% did not have any membership in Korean organizations. On the other hand, 55% of the immigrants did not belong to any American organization.

Trends in the immigrant's organizational participation demonstrate a pattern closely corresponding to those of the volume of casual acquaintances, i.e., a general linear increase over the years. An immigrant becomes more active in organizational activities both in the host society and in the ethnic community. This finding suggests a close relationship between the two types of communication involvement -- casual acquaintances and organizational membership. The volume of casual acquaintances (both Koreans and Americans) tends to increase as participation in organizations (both Korean and American) increases (compare Figure 2 and Figure 5).

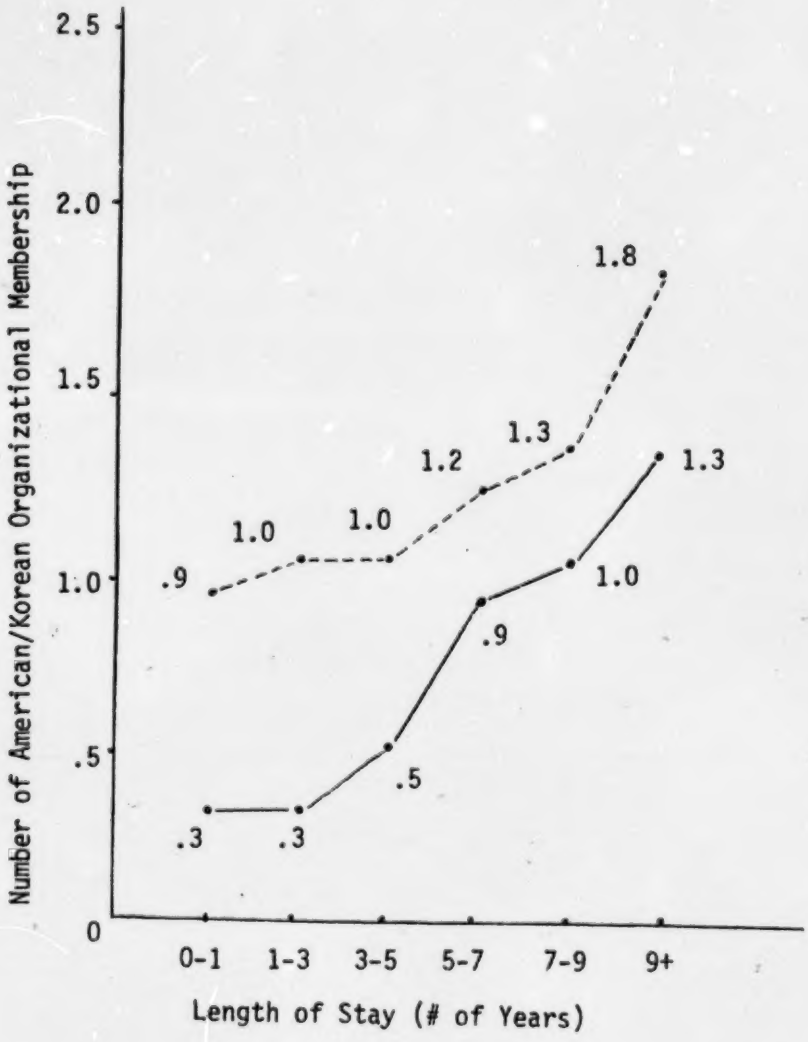
Insert Figure 5 about here.



—— Americans
Overall $\bar{X}$ = 1.6
Analysis of Variance
F=9.0,p=.001
Test of Linearity
r=.35,F=1.46,p=.214

----Koreans
Overall $\bar{X}$=6.3
Analysis of Variance
F=1.29,p=.268
Test of Linearity
r=.13,F=.52,p=.722

Figure(4): Trends in Volume of American and Korean Intimate Friends



—— Ameriean Organization
Overall $\bar{X}$ = .6
Analysis of Variance
F=6.78, p=.001
Test of Linearity
r=.29, F=1.90, p=.111

----Korean Organization
Overall $\bar{X}$ = 1.1
Analysis of Variance
F=12.09,p=.001
Test of Linearity
r=.42, F=.68, p=.604

Figure (5): Trends in Number of American and Korean Organizational Membership

Correlational Analysis

In addition to the trend analysis, a further attempt was made to explore the interrelationship between intra-ethnic communication and inter-ethnic communication on the four levels of communication relationship -- casual acquaintances, friends, intimate friends, and organizational membership. Based on all 281 respondents, the Pearson correlation coefficients (r) were computed as reported in Table 1.

Insert Table 1 about here.

The results show that the relationship between intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic communication is stronger on same level of communication relationship than on different levels. For example, the correlation between the number of Korean casual acquaintances (including casual and close friends) and the number of American organizational membership. In general, it is observed that an immigrant who is higher in involvement in interpersonal relationships within the ethnic community tends to be higher in participation in interpersonal communication in the host society.

The next analysis was to identify factors that were related to differential involvement of the immigrants in intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic communication. Correlation coefficients (r) were computed for the degree of relationships between the immigrant's individual background characteristics and the degree of communication involvements on three levels of interpersonal relationship and organizatinal activities (See Table 2).

Table (1): Correlation (r) between Inter-Ethnic and Intra-Ethnic Communication Variables

	Korean Acq.	Korean Frnd.	Korean Int.Frnd.	Korean Org.
American Acq.	.61	.54	.46	.21
American Frnd.	.43	.54	.46	.12*
American Int.Frnd.	.26	.46	.28	.08*
American Org.	.25	.27	.24	.31

* All correlation coefficients are significant at the .001 level except the ones marked by *.

Insert Table 2 about here.

Earlier in the time-trend analysis, it was reported that the immigrant's inter-ethnic as well as intra-ethnic communication generally increased over years in linear patterns. Reflecting such trends, all of the eight communication variables, particularly the total acquaintances and organizational membership in both Korean and the American society, were positively related to the length of stay in the United States.

Also, positive relationships were observed between English competency and the involvement in American as well as Korean organizations, and in interpersonal relationships with Americans on all three levels of intimacy. Acculturation motivation was significantly related to an immigrant's participation in the three levels of inter-ethnic communication in the host society and the organizational membership in both ethnic and the host society. The interaction potential of the immigrants was significantly related to the involvement in American organizations and interpersonal relationships with Americans, but not to intra-ethnic communication activities.

An immigrant's educational background was significantly related to inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic communication, in terms of the number of total acquaintances and organizational membership. The higher an immigrant's educational level, the greater was the involvement in the ethnic community and in the host society. Immigrants with higher levels of income were found to be more active in their participation in the

Table (2): Correlation (r) between Inter-ethnic and Intra-ethnic Communication and Background Characteristics

Background Characteristics	K. Acq.	K. Frnd.	K.Int. Frnd.	K. Org.	A. Acq.	A. Frnd.	A.Int. Frnd.	A. Org.
English Competency	.14**	.14**	.07	.32***	.29***	.28***	.29***	.58***
Acculturation Motivation	.11	.05	.05	-.03	.16*	.21**	.20**	.18**
Interaction Potential	-.03	-.02	.01	-.04	.31***	.34***	.36***	.40***
Educational Background	.13**	.13**	.07	.14**	.20***	.16**	.11**	.37***
# of Years in U.S.	.28**	.16**	.13	.29**	.33***	.38***	.35***	.42***
Family Income	.13*	.14**	.15**	.27***	.21***	.25***	.14**	.25***
Age at Immigration	.08	-.02	.06	.05	.00	.03	.04	.02
Present Age	.16**	.16**	.13*	.23***	.13*	.11*	.11*	.17**

* Correlation coefficients significant at the .05 level
** Correlation coefficients significant at the .01 level
*** Correlation coefficients significant at the .001 level

host society, and in the ethnic community to a lesser degree. Those who were older were more active in their intra-ethnic communication than those who were younger. Age at the time of immigration was not significantly related to any of the eight communication variables. On the other hand, the respondent's age at the time of survey was positively related to all of the communication variables. It is probably due to the fact that most of the respondents came to the United States when they were over 20 years old that the age difference (at the time of immigration) was not found to be a crucial factor in relation to communication behaviors. It is further speculated that the significance of age at the time of immigration can be observed in whether immigration occurs before or after one's early childhood.

Finally, each of the eight inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic communication variables were examined in relation to the immigrant's feeling of satisfaction in living in the United States (See Table 3).

Insert Table 3 about here.

It was shown that an immigrant's satisfaction level is more closely related to participation in inter-ethnic communication than in the intra-ethnic communication. Although the Korean community may provide important social and psychological functions, the immigrant's feeling of happiness (expressed in the level of satisfaction) seems to come more from social participation in the American society.

Table (3): Correlation (r) Between Satisfaction Level and Communication Variables

Communication Variables	(r)
# of American Acquaintances	.35 ***
# of American Casual Friends	.39 ***
# of American Intimate Friends	.32 ***
# of American Organizations	.25 ***
# of Korean Acquaintances	.15 **
# of Korean Casual Friends	.16 **
# of Korean Intimate Friends	.06
# of Korean Organizations	.10 *

* Correlation coefficients significant at the .05 level
** Correlation coefficients significant at the .01 level
*** Correlation coefficients significant at the .001 level

DISCUSSION

The present study has analyzed the intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic communication patterns of foreign immigrants through four levels of communication relationship -- total volume of acquaintances, casual friends, intimate friends, and organizational membership. The major findings from the data analysis are summarized below.

1. Throughout the years, immigrants' interpersonal interaction and organizational involvement within the ethnic community is stronger than in the host society.

2. The volume of the immigrant's American acquaintances (including casual and intimate friends) as well as participation in American organizations increase through time. The same pattern of linear increase is observed in the number of ethnic acquaintances and organizational membership.

3. The volume of the immigrant's casual friends -- both Americans and Koreans -- increases during the first nine years, after which association with ethnic friends decreases. Friendship composition is relatively ethnic and homogenous during the initial years and becomes more heterogenous through time. This trend is more clearly observed in the immigrant's intimate friendship circle.

4. Immigrants with greater involvement in the host communication channels tend to be also active in their own ethnic community. This tendency is stronger in total volume of acquaintances and organizational membership, and less in intimate friendship patterns.

5. Older immigrants tend to participate in inter-ethnic communication less than younger immigrants. English competency, educational background, and number of years in the United States are positively related to the immigrant's intra-ethnic communication, but not to the intimate friendship with Koreans.

6. An immigrant's feeling of satisfaction in living in the host society is more closely related to participation in inter-ethnic communication with members of the host society than to intra-ethnic communication.

The results of this exploratory study add some new insights into the immigrants' inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic communication patterns in the process of acculturation. First, the observed increase in participation in both American and Korean organizations and in the overall volume of interpersonal relationship with Americans and Koreans reflect the "structural pluralism" (Marden & Meyer, 1968), i.e., ethnic individuals maintain their active membership in both host society and their own ethnic community. This finding is contrary to the basic assumption in previous

studies, i.e., intra-ethnic communication deters participation in inter-ethnic communication in the host society (Lazerwitz, 1954; Broom & Kitsuse, 1955; Shibutani & Kwan, 1965).

Secondly, while the present data demonstrate the simultaneous involvement of immigrants in both ethnic and host society, the observed change in the immigrant's casual and intimate friendship circle (from an ethnic and homogenous one to a mixed and heterogenous one) suggests that the reference role of the ethnic individuals is intensified during the initial period of acculturation because of the absence of other meaningful groups to which they can refer for information, advice, and affection. With the passage of time, however, the immigrant comes into repeated and prolonged contact with the natives; such nonkin individuals become incorporated into the immigrant's communication interaction and frame of reference in more and more meaningful ways.

The above difference between the results in present study and the previous studies may be, at least in part, due to the social and political change in recent years toward greater independence and preservation of ethnicity among minority groups. It is also suggested that the previous assumption regarding the nature and function of intra-ethnic communication needs to be re-examined and that, in future studies, the immigrant's communication patterns should be closely analyzed by differentiating levels of intimacy in interpersonal relationship.

Thirdly, as the present data indicate, active and effective communication with members of the host society seems to provide a greater sense of satisfaction to the immigrants than communication within the ethnic community. It is inferred that even though intra-ethnic communication can be an important source of an immigrant's cultural identity, especially at the early stage of acculturation, active participation in the host society can be vital for a sense of importance and worth in the long run. One can further speculate that the key to the immigrant's successful acculturation (as reflected in the immigrant's feeling of adequacy in the host society) may be more in the level of participation in the host communication channels than in the level of ethnic involvement.

Finally, a few shortcomings of the present study need to be identified. The data was collected from only one particular ethnic group -- the Korean community in the Chicago area. It is likely that the specific patterns of changes in communication, the time-length involved in such developments, and the strength of relationships among variables of acculturation-communication will vary from one ethnic group to another and for different situations of acculturation. Size of an ethnic community, cohesiveness among members of the community, the degree of compatibility of original cultural norms and values with those of the host culture, may all contribute to an ethnic individual's inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic communication patterns.

Also, as noted earlier, the data in the present analysis were collected only at one point in time, and the developmental trends in the immigrant's communication can be more accurately answered through time-series observations of the same individuals over an extended period of time. Through time-series data, it is possible to trace the development of the immigrant's communication patterns more realistically. Through replications among different ethnic groups, the findings in the present study can be further verified and will gain greater application for a wider range of population. Also, sources of variations in the communication patterns and changes among different ethnic groups and individuals can be identified.

Further, we need to study more closely the communication network system within ethnic communities and across ethnic boundaries, as well as the process by which information from the host society is transmitted to ethnic individuals and vice versa. Through such analyses, we can identify those individuals who play the role of "gate-keepers," "opinion leaders," "cultural middlemen," or "liaison individuals," -- who are in an advantageous position to facilitate effective acculturation for new immigrants.

All in all, this study offers only a starting point from which more research questions are generated. A great deal of attention needs to be paid to the communication processes of foreign immigrants: Communication researchers can play a vital

role in promoting more effective communication and understanding between ethnic communities and the host society, by providing scientific insights into the underlying processes of communication.

FOOTNOTES

1. This article is based on part of dissertation research at Northwestern University (1976). The term, acculturation, is defined here as " ...the changes in individuals whose primary learning has been in one culture and who take over traits from another culture" (Marden & Meyer, 1968, p.35).

2. Also, see Pool (1965) for an extensive summary of studies of foreign students and visitors and Nagata (1969) for studies of foreign immigrants and American Indians.

3. By "natural" process, I mean the process of changes in immigrants without systematic institutional arrangements to either promote or retard the process of acculturation.

4. The average number of Black acquaintances was 7.6, Black casual friends, 0.6, and Black intimate friends, 0.3; the average number of other ethnic acquaintances was 14.6, other ethnic casual friends, 1.3, and other ethnic intimate friends, 0.4.

5. Distribution of responses on the four-point scales ("little," "a little," "somewhat," "a lot") shows a skewness toward higher levels of motivation, which suggests that an artifact of "social desirability" might have biased the responses.

6. The test of linearity (or "linear trend test") allows one to find out whether the change in each of the variables shows linear or non-linear trends. In formal terms, it allows one to test the hypothesis that the coefficients of the non-linear terms of the general statistical prediction model are all equal to zero. Thus, if the statistical significance level is close to .05 level or zero, the test result indicates that the change trend is non-linear; the farther away from zero the coefficient is, the stronger the degree to which the trend follows linear (See Statistical Package for the Social Science, 1976, pp. 260-61).

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APPENDIX: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS

1. How many Americans, Koreans and other ethnic individuals do you know well enough to talk with when you happen to meet them?

Koreans	_____	(persons)
White-Americans	_____	(persons)
Black-Americans	_____	(persons)
Others	_____	(persons)

2. About how many of these people (in Item 1) would you say are close enough friends so that you meet in one another's homes?

Koreans	_____	(persons)
White-Americans	_____	(persons)
Black-Americans	_____	(persons)
Others	_____	(persons)

3. About how many of these people (in Item 2) would you say are so close that you can discuss your private and personal problems?

Koreans	_____	(persons)
White-Americans	_____	(persons)
Black-Americans	_____	(persons)
Others	_____	(persons)

4. How many Korean organizations (e.g., Korean church, alumni association, professional association, Korean Association of Chicago, leisure club, etc.) do you currently belong to as a regular member (check one)?

(1) None ____
(2) 1 - 2 ____
(3) 3 - 4 ____
(4) 5 or more ____

5. How many American organizations (e.g., American church, PTA, professional association, etc.) do you currently belong to as a regular member (check one)?

(1) None ____
(2) 1 - 2 ____
(3) 3 - 4 ____
(4) 5 or more ____

6. How much difficulty do Americans seem to have in understanding your English?

(1) _____ understand 100%
(2) _____ understand mostly
(3) _____ understand only 50%
(4) _____ understand a little
(5) _____ do not understand anything

7. How much do you hesitate to talk to Americans or to ask them questions because you think you may not be understood?

(1) _____ frequently
(2) _____ sometimes/often
(3) _____ once in a while
(4) _____ seldom

8. In your own opinion, how well do you speak English compared with most Americans?

(1) _____ very much worse
(2) _____ somewhat worse
(3) _____ only a little worse
(4) _____ as good as most Americans

9. Do you have any difficulty in understanding Americans when they speak?

(1) ____ understand perfectly
(2) ____ understand mostly
(3) ____ understand only 50%
(4) ____ great deal of difficulty in understanding
(5) ____ cannot understand anything

10. How much are you interested in learning and understanding the ways American people act and think?

(1) ____ very much, would like to try my best
(2) ____ somewhat, would learn if chances are given
(3) ____ a little, would learn if chances are given
(4) ____ not at all, there is no need to learn because I can live in Korean ways

11. How much are you interested in making friends with American people?

(1) ____ very much interested
(2) ____ somewhat interested
(3) ____ a little interested
(4) ____ no interest

12. How much are you interested in knowing the current political, economic, and social issues of the United States?

(1) ____ very much interested
(2) ____ somewhat interested
(3) ____ a little interested
(4) ____ no interest

13. Of all the daily conversations you have, what percentage is with Americans?

(1) ____ more than 75%
(2) ____ 50-75%
(3) ____ 25-50%
(4) ____ less than 25%

14. In your present occupation, what percentage of the people you ordinarily come in contact with is with Americans?

(1) ____ more than 75%
(2) ____ 50-75%
(3) ____ 25-50%
(4) ____ less than 25%
(5) ____ I do not work.

15. Speaking in general, how much are you satisfied with your present life in the United States?

(1) ____ very much satisfied
(2) ____ somewhat satisfied
(3) ____ a little satisfied
(4) ____ not satisfied at all